

A  
VINDICATION <sup>14</sup>  
OF THE  
PROTESTANT, ESTABLISH'D  
CHURCH of England,  
FROM THE  
MISREPRESENTATION and REPROACH  
Arising from the  
Principles, Temper, and Practice  
OF THE  
HIGH-CHURCH PARTY  
In Her COMMUNION.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

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*Nonnulli partim Romanenses sunt, partim Angli, prout se tulerit  
Oecasio; quibus merito quis dixerit: nostri estis, an Adversa-  
riorum? Hi specie veritatis tuenda, & invehendi in Puritanos,  
Fidei & Religionis stabilitae quasi jugulum petunt.—Pontificii  
transmarini eos sibi vindicare possunt, quique Domi RECUSAN-  
TES dicuntur in iis jam gloriantur. In omnibus etiam articulis  
semper in Pontificiorum confinis adeo versantur, ut facilis fuerit,  
primâ occasione oblatâ, ad eos transitus.*

Dr. R. ABBOT.

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*L O N D O N :*

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# A

## VINDICATION

OF THE

PROTESTANT, Establish'd Church of  
*ENGLAND, &c.*

SIR,

YOU very well remember the Time of our late Troubles, when our Popish Enemies were in League against us, and the Violence of their Intentions appeared in a *most unnatural Rebellion*, kindled in our Country for the detestable Purpose of subverting the *Constitution of England, and the Religion of Protestants*. While that dreadful Danger was hanging over our Heads, every considerate Mind could not but be fill'd with the most tender Sensibility, as well as the deepest Abhorrence of those Principles by which they had been carried into so daring an Enterprize. An Enterprize, which if it had succeeded, must have issu'd in a Ruin, in which our dear Country, and every thing which deserves to be valu'd by Men and Christians, would have been involv'd. For my Part, I can never be sufficiently thankful to the great Author of any Being, and the kind Disposer of my State, for placing

placing me under so auspicious a Government ; as is that of his present Majesty. Under his Protection every Right I have from God and Nature is preserved to me inviolable ; and I can look around me, and have the Pleasure of beholding a whole Community possessed of all the Advantages of Society, and all the Means of Happiness. And it touches all the Springs of Horror within me to exchange, but in Idea, the great Blessings of my Religion and Liberty, for the Servility of a Subjection to a *Popish Pretender*, whom *Hell* and *Rome* have taught the Insolence to aspire to the Crown of *Britain*.—A Crown, which all the Authority of the Nation has placed upon the Head that deservedly wears it, and which the Inclination and the Power of the *British* People, in Conformity to that Authority, is (and I hope will be) determin'd to maintain there.

I thank God from my very Heart, that I have not now so sad an Exchange set before me ; but can look upon the Danger as a thing that is past ; and can talk it over with a Friend in this agreeable Calm, with a Satisfaction, as much more exalted than that of Ship's Company when they have just escaped from a Storm, as the Ship we now so smoothly sail in is more richly laden.

This, you know, Sir, is a Subject which we have often expatiated upon together with Delight ; and while we have rejoiced at the Re-establishment of the public Tranquility, we have been willing to please ourselves with the Imagination of a general Concurrence in this Joy, on an Occasion which we esteem so just and so important ; and have most reasonably thought and expected, that (after having been united in so dreadful a Danger, and so happy a Deliverance) all our other Differences would have been swallowed up and lost. Surely, we have been ready to say, No *Party-Distinction* will ever more divide the Inhabitants of *Great Britain* ; but that be-

tween the *Friends* and *Enemies* of his most Excellent Majesty King George, and the *Protestant Succession*: And even this too we might have expected to have seen an End of, when *Rebellion* was so totally defeated, and the *Mercy* of that Government that had been so unreasonably and insolently attacked, was attested by so many unparallell'd Examples, amidst the few Monuments of its Justice.

But, it seems, the Event has not yet answered these Expectations. Many of those Dissentions and Animosities which we hoped to have seen extinguished, are still subsisting; and Disloyalty and Disaffection are not yet ashamed to shew their Heads, in a Manner which brings to my Remembrance the Speech of *Satan to Beelzebub*:

— — — — — *What tho' the Field be lost?*

*All is not lost; th' unconquerable Will,*  
*And Study of Revenge, immortal Hate*  
*And Courage never to submit or yield:*  
*(And what is else not to be overcome)*  
*That Glory never shall his Wrath or Might*  
*Extort from me.* — — — — —

*Consult how we may henceforth most offend*  
*Our Enemy, our own Loss how repair*  
*How overcome this dire Calamity,*  
*What Reinforcement we may gain from Hope;*  
*If not, what Resolution from Despair.*

Milton's Paradise Lost. B. I.

Since so much of this old Spirit still appears, in Spight of all Discouragement, I can't but admit that your Complaint upon this Head is far from being without Foundation. But there is one Thing against which I must beg Leave to enter my Protest, *viz.* *That this Mischief is justly to be charged upon the Church of England.* And it is the Purpose of this Letter to wipe off so injurious an Aspersion cast upon

upon the most venerable, as well as the most numerous, Body amongst us, for the Conduct of a few, that have no other Title to call themselves Churchmen, than because they assume a Character to profane it. However the wicked Presumption of some Men may have connected the Church and bad Measures against the Government and its Friends, I can undertake to prove, that this is an unaccountable Arrangement of very inconsistent Things. And this, Sir, I shall attempt by maintaining—that there is a real and evident Distinction between a true Churchman and the *High-Church-Partizan*. And indeed it is so material to distinguish between them, that I don't at all wonder that you was so much at a Loss in vindicating the Church of *England*, properly so called, while you admitted those as belonging to it, who are false to all its best Interests, and betray it, as *Judas* did his Master, with a Kiss. Whereas by the Help of this Distinction, and by disowning and discarding such a factious Set of Men, you will find that Vindication easy, which, I will be bold to say, will be impracticable any other Way.

Having asserted that there is a real and so material a Distinction between them, I shall endeavour to point out to you their different Characters; which when you shall have view'd in Opposition to each other, you will immediately perceive that (notwithstanding the Zeal they expres for the Church upon all but worthy Occasions) the *High-Flyers* have no better Title to that of Churchmen than a Company of Lunaticks have to that of wise, sober-minded, and reasonable Creatures; and that it would be equally unjust and absurd to impute the Distraction of the One to the Other in both Cases.

A genuine Churchman, Sir, is a true *Englishman*, a true *Christian*, and a true *Protestant*.

A genuine Member of the Church of *England* is, I say, and can be no other, than a true *Englishman*

— a hearty Friend to the Constitution of *England*, the Nature of which is a *limited Monarchy*; wherein, by *Original Contract*, the supreme Power was divided between *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. Every Part of this Constitution hath its distinct Rights. The *Crown* hath the Execution of the Laws; the *Lords* are the highest Court of Justice; and the *Commons* the Representatives of the People. This is that wise Ballance of Power which our Ancestors established; and this the Frame of Government which has been transmitted down to us to this Day: A Frame of Government wherein the Laws are the common Measure of the *Regal Power*, and the *Subject's Obedience*. This Ballance the true *Englishman* wishes to see kept inviolable; and when he looks back upon such a Period, as that before the Revolution (when the peculiar Rights of one Part were invaded by another, and the Constitution became in such imminent Danger of being subverted) he is at no Difficulty to determine which ought, in so extraordinary a Juncture, to be set aside, the *Invader* or the *Constitution*. He is a steady Friend to Government, yields a hearty Allegiance to his Prince, and is subject for Conscience Sake. But when Power, in the Hands of any, has been employed to the Hurt of those for whose Good it was placed there, he does not think that the *Lords* and *Commons*, and People of *England*, were obliged to resign themselves up to Violence and Oppression. Nor can he see that they ought to have been passive, without Limitation in their Obedience, under such national Grievances, as the Laws and Constitution of his Country condemned, and as were capable of Redress and Remedy. He finds indeed some general Expressions in St. *Paul's* Epistles, as well as in the Laws and Homilies of the Church of *England*, which seem universally to forbid Resistance: But these he understands to be only Rules of the civil Obedience

ence of the Subject to the legal Administration of Power in ordinary Cases, and such as cannot be constru'd to extend to the Case of a People described by the Vote of Abdication. For in that Vote it was declared by both Houses of Parliament, that King James II. had endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and People, and by Advice of Jesuits and other wicked Persons, had violated the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, &c. \*

On this great Occasion, Sir, the Body of the Clergy of the Church of England united with the Laiety in that glorious Stand against the Encroachments which were then making ; so that it was entered into the Journal of the House of Commons, † *That the unanimous Thanks of the House was given Nemine Contradicente, to the Clergy of the Church of England, for the great Services they had done for their Religion and Country, by the Opposition they had made to the Execution of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and their refusing to read the King's Declaration; which was then founded upon the dispensing Power.*

This Entry is a standing Monument of the steady Adherence of that venerable Body to the British Constitution, in which Provision is made for securing the Allegiance of Subjects to the Crown, consistently with the Rights of a free People : — Rights, which by *Magna Charta*, and many subsequent Declarations, are most unquestionably the inviolable Inheritance of Britons. As such they have constantly been claimed both in and out of Parliament

\* Upon the 29th of Jan. 1688, a Message was brought from the Commons by Mr. Hambden and others, declaring the Commons had passed this Vote, and desired the Lords Concurrence, and on the 30th of January it was considered by their Lordships, Paragraph by Paragraph, and afterwards agreed to, without any Amendment.

† Feb. 1. 1688.

(as is abundantly evident by all Antiquity, Histories, and Records) against any Power on Earth that should at any Time assume a Right to extort them from us. \* Give me leave to add to this Account of our Constitution, that a King of *England*, in his Coronation Oath, is required *solemnly to promise and swear to govern the People of this Kingdom of England, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and Customs of the same.* This, Sir, is the Nature of the Constitution, and to this the true Protestant Church of *England* has manifested an Attachment when it has been endanger'd.

But the *High-Church Partizans* are Enemies to this Constitution, maintaining Tenets directly subversive of our old Foundation, and such as render Religion, Liberty, and Life, precarious and dependent upon the Caprice of any one that should think fit to invade them. Such are their exploded Doctrines of *undefeasible and unalienable, divine and hereditary Right to govern by Prerogative against Law and Liberty, which no Necessity nor Incapacity can invalidate;* and, which compleats that fatal System, absolute Non-Resistance, and unconditional, unlimited passive Obedience—to a limited Power and Authority:—a Doctrine as absurd as Transubstantiation; as inconsistent with Liberty as it is shocking to Common Sense; and which has been the Means of enslaving a great Part of the World, since the Time of the Impostor *Mahomet*, the first

\* Si Rex partem habeat summi Imperii, partem alteram Populus, aut Senatus, Regi in partem non suam involanti vis justa opponi poterit, quia catenus Imperium non habet: Quod locum habere censeo, etiamsi dictum. Sit Belli potestatem penes Regem fore; id enim de Bello externo intelligendum est, cum alioquin Quisquis Imperii summi partem habeat, non possit non jus habere eam partem tuendi.

Grotius de Jure B. & P. Lib. I. C. 4. Sect. 13.

Broacher of it. These, Sir, are Sanctions of Tyranny and Oppression, and the grand Supports of despotic Power : And if these Principles had been generally imbib'd and proceeded upon, the Revolution by King *William* of glorious Memory had been precluded ; and these would have been the indissoluble Rivets of that intolerable Yoke, which was then about to be fastened upon the Necks of a free People. Of this, Sir, the Gentlemen of this Stamp are so sensible, that it is for the detestable Purpose of arraigning and condemning that Work, and our present happy Establishment consequent upon it, that these slavish Principles are any where retained ; and the Absurdity and the Treason of 'em will be most apparent, when it shall be considered how the Advocates for them behaved in the late open Rebellion, in Opposition to the united Voice of *King, Lords, and Commons*. Then the Doctrine of Non-Resistance was peculiarly seasonable, necessary to be inculcated with the warmest Zeal, and highly agreeable to Reason, Religion, and the Constitution : But then the Lips of these Men were, as it were, sealed up ; and their sullen Silence discovered the Mortification they received at reading or hearing those Lectures flowing from the Pens, or the Mouths of others, with Views very different to what they were wishing to have pursued.

Submission and Obedience, Sir, was never more deserved, than it is now by his present *Majesty*. He is a known Branch of King *James's* Family ; his Right of Succession has been confirmed by different Princes, and different Parliaments ; and Lords and Commons, Clergy and Laity, by their Oaths owe him Allegiance ; his Right and Title he has never forfeited by stretching his Prerogative against Law, to the Prejudice of the Property or Religion of his Subjects ; and his Clemency has

been

been exercised (amongst his other princely Virtues) even towards the Rebellious. But Non-Resistance with respect to him, with these Gentlemen; is a Duty which may be dispensed with ; nay, ought to be set aside : And unlimited Obedience is only for the Service of their Pretender to the Crown, in whose Hand an unbounded Power to do Mischief, may in their Judgment, it seems, be more properly plac'd. And indeed who would not conclude (from his known Disposition, and the School in which he has been instructed) that he would make as liberal a Use of it as any Man living ? But what in the mean Time, shall we think of the Men who are wont to apply the worst of Positions to the worst of Purposes ? And such, I am sure, you will give me Leave to call that, which would set aside what was done at the Revolution in Opposition to *this High-Church Doctrine*, when the Nation was reduced to the utmost Necessity of acting counter to it. Would they not in ancient *Rome*, or *Athens*, have been deemed Enemies to their Country ? Have not these very Men had an indelible Brand of Infamy set upon them by the grand Inquest of the Nation ? And have not the Declarations of these base Tenets been deservedly sentenced to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, by all the united Authority of it ? The High-Church *Jacobite* then can have no just Pretensions to the Denomination he assumes ; unless a true Churchman may be an Enemy to the national Constitution, a Stranger to Patriotism (which in all civilized Nations has been esteemed a Cardinal Virtue) and not only without the Love of his Country, but in an Interest opposite to it.

And yet these Men, Sir, are fond of wearing the Mask of Patriotism to conceal their Malignity ; and while, as far as they are able, they clog the Wheels of Government, and indiscriminately op-

pose all the Measures of the King and Administration ; they have the Front to call themselves the *Country Interest*. But we know, Sir, the Country, whose Interest it is their Aim to promote, is not our own ; for what have they ever done to serve the true Interest of *Great Britain* ? And what that tended to its Prejudice, when they cou'd do it with Impunity, have they ever left unattempted ?

I shall not enlarge any farther in drawing in Opposition and Contrast the Characters of true Churchmen and the *high-flying Zealots*, so far as relates to our happy Frame of Government. This the latter have the Mortification to see standing upon its old Bottom ; and, I hope, what I have said will be accepted as a full Defence of the former, against any Misrepresentation and Reproach, which may unreasonably be imputed to them on account of so unconstitutional a Faction.—A Set of Men, who *in Profession and Pretence* are of the Church of *England* ; but, *in reality*, are for setting up such a Scheme of a Church, as is more consonant, than that which is established by Law, with that arbitrary Government, which they are so bent upon introducing into the *State*.

Having considered, and compared them as *Englishmen*, I shall next consider 'em in the View of *Christians*. And here, Sir, with respect to that real Religion, which consists in the true *Christian Belief and Practice*, it is a Thing, which *High-Church*, as such, has but little Concern in : Insomuch that, if we were left to judge from the Temper and the Behaviour of their greatest Zealots what Church they were of ; and could find any among us where a general Licence was given to all the Madness and Excess of Drunkenness, Debauchery, and Profaneness, we should be at no Difficulty to range them there. But least we should be at a Loss to find out such a Society bearing the

Name to receive 'em (after crying out *the Church*, and then repeating a little louder *the Church*) at length they try to make us understand their Meaning, by roaring out *High-Church for ever*. With this Cry the common People have been miserably practised upon : And you have heard, Sir, (as who has not ?) great Numbers of Wretches that have been most abandoned to Vice and Folly, *curse and swear, and bully for the Church*, to whom all Churches, as to real Religion, are alike, and by whom there is not any Church, but what would be discredited and scandalized, and blush to have it said, she deemed and countenanced these for her Members—and especially for her Advocates. Really, Sir, I feel something of Compassion mingling with my Indignation, when I consider how unworthily so sacred a Name has been prostituted ; and to what a Pitch of Folly and Extravagance some poor Creatures have been wrought up by the wicked Arts of their hot-headed Leaders ; at whose Door a great Part of the Fault is to be charged, that they are not wiser and better Men. Were I to draw the Picture of these kind of People, I know not where I could find a more proper Original to represent them, than a *Jacobite Champion*, who, at an Election in a Midland County, standing at the Corner of a Church, let those about him know, what Church he would be understood to mean by a demonstrative Stroke with his Stick against the Wall, attended with this very significant Saying, *Thou dear damn'd Bitch, I will stand by thee as long as I have Breath in my Body.* This was spoke and acted so full in Character, and so expressive of the Spirit, the Ignorance, and the Rant of the Party, that I think, had the Fellow been qualified in other Respects, he might well have been chosen to represent the whole Body in Parliament ; and therefore I persuade myself, you will forgive my men-

mentioning this Instance, tho' from your own Observation you may be able to match it with great Numbers as senseless and ridiculous. For indeed their general Conduct too fully justifies their Title to the Denomination of *Tories* :—“ A Name “ first given to *Irish Robbers*, who lived upon “ Plunder, or were prepared for any daring or “ villainous Enterprize.

But what, Sir, has the Church of *England* to answer for on the Score of these Follies and Vices? She has Numbers and Names of Weight and Worth to boast, of modern, as well as ancient Date, that deserve to be had in Reputation: Tho' therefore many professedly in her Communion bid Defiance to all the Laws of Christian Piety and Virtue; yet her Principles ought not to be reproached merely on account of the ill Characters or Conduct of those who reputedly embrace them: Since it is evident that these Practices (far from being warranted by the Establishment) are such as every true Churchman will disclaim and lament.

Is it any Wonder, Sir, that in a National Establishment (however excellent) there should be great Numbers of no Principle, and of Principles that are worse than none? There are a large Number of Churchmen that are no otherwise of the Communion of the Church of *England*, than because they live in a Country, where the Church so denominated is established, and her Doctrines and Modes most publickly received and professed: And the Form of their Religion is so little Matter of their Choice and Enquiry, that were they to be transplanted into another Country, they would change their Religion with their Climate, and join the louder Cry for that which they should find most in Vogue. And there is no question but the secular Profits, and legal Rights and Power of the Church have been the Means of detaining within her Pale Infidels

fidels and Debauchees, that are not only secret but avowed Enemies to Christianity itself, upon which her Doctrine, Discipline and Worship are professedly founded. The Consequence of this is, that, if these Men had Opportunity of exchanging to Advantage, and could get a Church established, wherein they might hope for an Enlargement of Power and Emoluments, together with a Sanctuary for their Crimes and Vices, it is easy to see that (Conscience having no Hold of them) all the grand Characte-  
risticks of the Church of *England* must give Way to any other, be it as corrupt as it may ; and if they will be consistent with themselves, must soonest yield to that which is most corrupt. " Pope-  
ry, says an ingenious Writer,\* has long used the  
accursed Policy of accommodating itself, as to  
some Men's Ambition, so to all Men's Vices.  
How well does it suit a Libertine to hear of a  
religious Project that offers an Expedient to re-  
concile a lewd and vicious Life with the Hopes  
of eternal Happiness ? to hear they may escape the  
Sentence and Condemnation of God's Law, by  
the same Methods of Interest or Money, in which it  
is to be feared they have often eluded the Laws of  
their Country ? And tho' from their own Actions  
they have Reason to fear all the Judgments  
threatened by God's Law, they may yet have  
what Stock of Merit they please in the Pope's  
general Bank, and fully secure their last Chance,  
by Pardons, Indulgences, Absolutions, and Ex-  
treme Unctions. What Rake, or what Strumpet  
would not join in the Cry for High-Church,  
Popery and the Pretender, when they bring with  
'em the admirable Secret of assigning to the  
Rake the Devotion of an Anchoret, and to the  
lewd Woman the Chastity of a Nun ? No won-

\* The Author of an Address to Magistrates, with Relation to the Societies for Reformation of Manners.

" der such Persons fill the Cry of, *No Hanoverians,*  
 " *no Low-Church.* They would be as ready to  
 " cry, *No Heresy, no Protestant*: For there is no  
 " greater Heresy to them than a Doctrine which  
 " requires Purity of Manners, and virtuous Ac-  
 " tions.

To me, Sir, it is most evident, that however the Simplicity of the lower Class may have been abused, Popery is the true Point to which our High-Church Faction is driving ; and if you observe, Sir, the Steps which it is taking this Way, you will perceive its direct Opposition to the Church of *England*, as a Society founded upon the Principles of Protestantism and the Reformation. Here I would beg Leave to ask what Church that can be that the High-Church Cry is rais'd for ? Is it not notoriously a Church that was *endangered by the Revolution, and to be established by another* ? Is it not a Church which in the Judgment of its Advocates, would be best suited with a Popish Pretender at its Head ? And for the effecting which, all the well affected to the present Government in the Church of *England* as well as *out* of it, are run down, while such are to be cried up who avow the Cause and Person of a Pretender, or at least are ready to assist those that do so, by opposing the Measures of his Majesty's Administration ? Men of distinguished and approved Loyalty to their King, Men of Character and Capacity to serve the true Interest of their Country, Men of Probity and Honour, and of unsuspected Attachment to the Church of *England* as by Law established, you shall find *Papists, Nonjurors, Jacobites, and High-Flyers*, uniting all their Strength to oppose ; and you can't so soon forget, Sir, from what Quarter, and in what Form the Opposition appeared, which was lately made to the brave Captain your Friend : In his distinguished Character, that of the *Eng-*  
*lishman*

*tishman* and the Churchman, that of the Gentleman and the Scholar, the Christian and the Protestant, were most happily united : But his constant Attendance on publick Worship according to our established Forms, with all his other Qualifications and Virtues, were not sufficient to entitle him to the Denomination of a Churchman in the Sense of *High-Church* : And what can be a plainer Indication than this, that it can't be understood of the Church of *England* as by Law established, but of some *other Church*, to which those that are the Ornaments of ours are not admitted to belong ; but are treated as if every Attempt to vindicate the Protestant Religion, and the Civil Liberties of *Great Britain* were *ipso facto*, a sacrilegious Attempt to destroy it ? These Men, Sir, if they meant ours by High-Church, would never be so lavish of its Credit and its Honours, as to exclude from it its worthiest Members and range them amongst the *Presbyterians*. When therefore with these Sticklers for a Church the *Candidate* was a *Presbyterian*, and they had fixed this, as they have done without all Decency, as a Brand of Reproach upon all the Nobility and Gentlemen, and Clergy too, that were in his Interest, this amounts to more than a Proof that they don't acknowledge the *known* Members of the Church of *England*, as by Law established, to be of that high-flying Church at which they are aiming ; and it is likewise such a Compliment to the Presbyterians, as I would charitably hope they have too much Modesty to receive ; as, it is certain, Truth and Justice to itself will never suffer the *Church of England* to make it.

The Fact, Sir, is, *The Church of England, as Protestant*, is as obnoxious to a *High-Flyer*, as are *Protestants* of other different Persuasions ; whereas this essential Characteristick of the true Church of *England* (as is most obvious to observe) is not at

all included in that *Scheme of a Church* which these hot-headed Partizans have contrived in their Brains.

You know, Sir, whence the Appellation of *Protestant* took its Original. A considerable Progress having been made in the *Reformation in Germany* by the vigorous Endeavours of *Luther* and others, the *Emperor Charles V.* at the Pope's Instigation, summoned a Diet at *Spire* to pass a Decree, in order to put an effectual Stop to any farther Advances. Against this Decree six Princes and fourteen free Cities *protested*; and from that public Protest (as *Thuanus* tells us) the Name of Protestant was soon extended to all others, who professed a Desire of reforming the Corruptions brought into Religion, and on that account separated from the Church of *Rome*\*. The common Rule of the Religion of a Protestant is *the Law and the Testimony*; and his great Principles are that the Scriptures are a sufficient and perfect Rule of Faith and religious Worship and Practice; so that whatever Usages or Opinions have obtained and been received, they are to be brought and tried by this Touch-stone; and as they are found agreeable or disagreeing with these sacred Records, to be either retained or discarded. For this Purpose, every Man is with Sincerity and Application to make Use of the Advantages that are afforded him in his Enquiries after the Truth and Will of God; and governing his own Profession and Practice by the Result of these, is obliged to leave every other Man to the same free and impartial Use of his Understanding and his Bible, as that to which, he believes, he himself has a most uncontestable Claim.—These, Sir, are the general Principles upon which the illustrious *Protesters* proceeded, and which all consistent *Protestants* are agreed in, in departing from the Corruptions of Popery in their

\* Character of a Protestant, p. 7. Thuan. Hist. Lib. 1.  
diffe-

different Measures, according to the Degree in which they have apprehended it to have apostatized from real Christianity.

But *High-Church*, Sir, is a Church at Enmity with the *Reformation* and these *Protestant* Principles upon which it was set up, and upon which alone it can be maintained: Whereas the true Church of *England* is *Protestant and Reformed*, and made an early Stand against Antichristian Power. And as by one glorious Effort it was settled, as we now find it in its present Constitution, so it would have made farther Advances still towards the pure State of the first Apostolick Churches (according to the Desire and Recommendation of the first Reformers;) but it has ever since been oppos'd, by the unreasonable Bigotry and Stiffness of such Persons as have been Popishly-affected, whenever it has been willing to make any Concessions for Peace, or any farther Amendment.

That *High-Church*, Sir, as such, is not *Protestant*, will farther appear from the Rancour of the Party, and that intemperate Heat, wherewith it has been their uniform Practice to treat the *Protestant Dissenters*; which has been, and still is, in a Manner, conformable to this Maxim, that *Presbyterians are worse than Papists*. *High-Flyers* and *Papists* have gone, at every Turn, Hand in Hand, and have been closely united in the same common Methods of endeavouring the Extirpation of our Religion and Liberties. And they have in nothing been more heartily united, than in that Hatred and Enmity which they have been levelling against the *Dissenters*, and which they have manifested by all Manner of Calumny and Reproach. They have try'd, by every Art, to make them odious and contemptible in vulgar Reckoning, and incapable of serving their Country. And if I, Sir, was of their Council, and capable of approving so bold an Undertaking as that is, of re-

ducing these Nations to *Popery and Slavery*, I wou'd recommend this as good Policy, that the several Bodies of Dissenters among us, should be disabled from acting; and, if possible, removed out of the Way. If this could not be all at once effected, I should think the Protestant Interest might be considerably weakened, by dividing its several Branches amongst themselves; and setting them at too great a Distance easily to unite again against their common Enemy.

But the *Protestant Church of England* have been too sensible of the Importance of the Friendship and Assistance of the *Dissenting Protestants*, in delivering them more than once from Destruction by the *Papists*, to take this Estimate, or pursue Measures according to it. When the Controversy lay between King *James II.* and the Church of *England*, and the Hearts of the People were turned against the Court, "The *Dissenters* shew'd an unusual Readiness to join the Church against the common Enemy.\*" And the Sense which the Church had of it, you shall see, Sir, immediately, if you will indulge me in the Liberty of a few short Quotations.

I shall begin with laying before you the 11th Article of Archbishop *Sancroft's* circular Letter to all the Bishops within his Metropolitan Jurisdiction, dated *July 16th, 1688*. Where, after many wise and pious Instructions, which he desired might be recommended to his Clergy, he concludes with these Words: "That they, (*viz.* the Clergy) also walk in Wisdom towards those that are *not* of *our* Communion: And if there be in their Parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekness, seeking, by all good Ways and Means, to

\* *Eachard.*

" gain

" gain and win them over to our Communion ;  
 " more especially, that they have a tender Regard  
 " to our *Brethren the Protestant Dissenters* ; that  
 " upon Occasion offered they visit them at their  
 " Houses, and receive them kindly at their own,  
 " and treat them fairly wherever they meet them,  
 " discoursing calmly and civilly with them ; per-  
 " swading them (if it may be) to a full Compli-  
 " ance with our Church ; or, at least, that whereto  
 " we have already attained, we may all walk by  
 " the same Rule, and mind the same Thing : And  
 " in Order hereunto, that they take all Opportu-  
 " nities of assuring and convincing them, that the  
 " Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely  
 " irreconcileable Enemies to the Errors, Supersti-  
 " tions, Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Church of  
 " *Rome* : And that the very unkind Jealousies  
 " which some have had of us to the contrary,  
 " were altogether groundless. And, in the last  
 " Place, that they warmly and affectionately exhort  
 " them to join with us, in daily, fervent Prayer  
 " to the God of Peace, for an universal, blessed  
 " *Union of all reformed Churches*, both *at Home*  
 " and *Abroad*, against our *common Enemies* ; and  
 " that all they who do confess the Name of our  
 " dear Lord, and do agree in the Truth of his  
 " holy Word, may also meet in one holy Com-  
 " munion, and live in perfect Unity and godly  
 " Love. + "

The seven Bishops, in their famous Petition to be  
 excus'd reading and distributing King James's De-  
 claration for Liberty of Conscience, founded on a  
 dispensing Power, declared, " That it was not from  
 " any Want of due Tenderness to Dissenters, in

+ This circular Letter and Petition are the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> Arti-  
 cles of a compleat Collection of Paper relating to the Revo-  
 lution, published in Quarto, 1689.

" Relation to whom they were willing to come to  
 " such a Temper as should be thought fit." And  
 Assurances were afterwards given that they would  
 be better than their Word. " The Bishops, said a  
 " Reverend Divine, on the same Occasion, have  
 " under their Hands declared their Dispositions to  
 " come to a Temper in Matters of Conformity, and  
 " there seems to be no Doubt of their Sincerity.  
 " If ever God brings us into a settled State out of  
 " the Storms, into which our Passions and Folly,  
 " as well as the Treachery of others, has led us, it  
 " cannot be imagined that the Bishops will go off  
 " from those moderate Resolutions, which they  
 " have now declared : And, they continuing firm,  
 " the weak and indiscreet Passions of any of the in-  
 " ferior Clergy, must needs vanish.—And I will  
 " boldly say, that if the Church of *England*, after  
 " she has got out of this Storm, will return to hearken  
 " to the Peevishness of some four Men, she will be  
 " abandoned both of God and Man, and set Hea-  
 " ven and Earth against her. The Nation sees too  
 " clearly, how dearly the Dispute about Conformity  
 " has cost us, to stand upon such Puncilio's ; and  
 " those in whom our Deliverance is wrapp'd up,  
 " judge too right, that ever they will be Priest-rid-  
 " den in this Point.—And if any Argument  
 " was wanting to conclude the Certainty of this  
 " Point, the wise and generous Behaviour of the  
 " main Body of the Dissenters in this present  
 " Juncture, has given them so just a Title to our  
 " Friendship, that we must resolve to set all the  
 " World against us, if we can ever forget it ; and  
 " if we do not make them all the Returns of Ease  
 " and Favour, when it is in our Power to do it.\*"

Conformably, Sir, to these Professions of Temper and Moderation, a Motion was made by some

\* Apology for the Church of *England*. Calamy, p. 426.

of the Bishops for a Bill of Toleration, and another of Comprehension in the House of Lords : For the latter of which, by Royal Mandate, an ecclesiastical Commission was appointed, to prepare such Alterations of the Liturgy and Canons, and such Proposals for the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Courts, as might be conducive to the Accommodation of all Differences among good Subjects. And the Committee of Bishops and Divines (after calmly considering and debating such Things as appeared liable to any just Exception) agreed upon such Concessions and Amendments, as, if the Jacobite Party had not taken this Occasion to inflame Mens Minds against the Government, (by which Means those Debates were broke up) wou'd, in the Opinion even of a *Dissenting Historian* ||, in all Probability, have brought in three Parts in four of the Dissenters.

However, in the Passage of the Bill of Toleration (or in the Act intitled, *An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws*) they had been left at Liberty to worship God in their own Way. And instead of being treated with those Severities that had been formerly inflicted upon them for so doing, several Privileges were given them ; and a Penalty was provided against any such Malignity of Zeal, as should appear to the Disturbance of their Congregations. This Liberty, and Protection of Protestants in the free Use of their Religion and worship, is so plainly a Dictate of Nature, and so undoubtedly the Right of Men and Christians, that it might have been presumed to have been as agreeable to the Church of *England* as the *Legislature* ; if it had not been expressly approved by all her moderate Clergy, ever

|| *Neal's History of the Puritans*, Vol. IV. p. 618.

since her Bishops moved the House of Lords for it.

But tho' such is the Validity of this Law ; tho' it has been confirmed by Parliament, and promised to be preserved inviolable by repeated Speeches from the Throne ; yet the Cry of High Church is—*Down wtib the Presbyterians.* This is flying in the Face of all the Authority wherewith it was enacted, and has been maintained ; which, I had almost said, is as great as that which is the Basis of the Establishment itself. And it is, if it has any Meaning, declaring for that Persecution, and for the Revival of those Penalties, from which dissenting Protestants are legally exempted.

It was the Resolution, Sir, of the Legislature, as appears by the Preamble to this Act, *That some Ease to scrupulous Consciences, in the Exercise of Religion, might be an effectual Means to unite Protestant Subjects in Interest and Affection :* Or, that the Consequence would probably be an Agreement in all Things necessary ; and whatever Differences might remain, as to Matters comparatively of small Importance, they would be more inclinable to the Exercise of mutual Forbearance, and concur more readily in such Measures, as should tend to the Security and Advancement of the common Interests of Englishmen and Protestants.

The Event, Sir, has answered this Expectation. The Minds of honest Men have been visibly less alienated, and, in Proportion, as the Moderation of Churchmen has been manifested, the Bigotry of the Dissenters has been wearing out. So that while both have agreed in the same Rule of Faith and Practice, and the same Principles of *Protestantism* and *Civil Government, the Pretender and Popery, and their High-Allies,* have found a Force arising from this Union, wherewith their infamous Schemes have been more than once disconcerted.

There

There is a memorable Passage in his late Ma-jesty's Declaration in Council, (dated Sept. 22, 1714.) which illustrates the extensive Usefulness and Benefit of Union among *British* Protestants, upon the Foot of this Liberty and Indulgence. " I take (says " that amiable and illustrious Prince) this Occasion " to express to you my firm Purpose to do all that " is in my Power, for supporting and maintaining " the Churches of *England* and *Scotland*, as they " are severally by Law established ; which I am of " Opinion may be effectually done, without the " least impairing the Toleration allowed by Law to " *Protestant Dissenters*, so agreeable to Christian " Charity, and so necessary to the Trade and Riches " of this Kingdom." But Tories and Jacobites regard none of these Considerations, either of Religion or good Policy ; but are still consistent with themselves, and at Enmity with the public Interest and Peace. And this out of Zeal for a Church, whose Interest can only be supported by the old *Popish* Stratagem, of setting one Branch of Protestants against another ; and whose Doctrines are too absurd to be propagated any other Way, than by the Methods of Persecution and Blood.

I would charitably believe, that many of our *High-Churchmen* do not know what Spirit they are of ; but (thro' an unhappy Bias of Education and Prejudice, improv'd by the Arts of ill-designing Men, for whom they have been taught a Veneration) have imbib'd Maxims, which they have either not had Capacities or Opportunities of considering. But if those whose especial Duty it is, would set themselves heartily about it, it would be easy to convince some Men, that don't suspect themselves to be under any Thing of a *Popish* Influence, that theirs is the very Spirit of Popery. Is not their Zeal for the Church express'd more against Protestants than Papists ? Don't they think more favourable

ble of the gross Defections of the Church of *Rome*, than of those who, holding the same Rule of the Scriptures, happen to differ from them in their Sentiments of some particular Doctrines and Circumstances of Worship? And is it not very evident, that they strengthen the Hands of those who would extirpate our Religion and Liberties against a Protestant Prince;—a Prince, whose Inclination and whose Glory it is to protect all his good Subjects in their civil and religious Rights; and to leave the Government and Jurisdiction of Conscience, not to any Power upon Earth, but to its supreme Lord, who has reserved the Power over it to himself.

As Religion, Sir, is the principal Concern of Men, so it is a Thing which is purely *personal*. His own proper Soul is a precious Depositum, which every Man is to look after for himself, and for which he must be accountable. Every Man must therefore be allowed to judge for himself, in all Matters of Conscience, which affect not the Security and Welfare of civil Societies: Nor is it in any Man's Power to transfer the Care of his Soul, or leave it to others to prescribe what he shall believe or practise; unless he could substitute those who undertake to judge for him, to be also judged for him at the righteous Tribunal of God. God and Nature, by making Men intelligent and accountable Beings, have invested all Men with an unalienable Right of choosing their own Religion, and worshipping God according to their several Persuasions. And in the Use of this they ought not to be interrupted, so long as this, their Birth-right, is not forfeited by any wilful Violation of the Public Peace. But while they contribute, by a peaceable and useful Behaviour, in their several Capacities and Characters, to the Welfare of the civil Community, they have an equitable Claim (as good Subjects) to the Protection of just Law and Government. Nor can

can they, without high Injustice, be laid under Discouragements or Penalties, because they can't, in Conscience, comply with such particular Ceremonies and external Rites that others may think fit to make Use of. As to the *Protestant Dissenters* among us, they are generally well-affected to his Majesty's Person and Government, and more united in the general Interest of our National Establishment, tho' they dislike some of the Terms it imposes upon its own Members, than Multitudes who comply at Random. A Man of no Conscience, Sir, will be always ready to take up any Notions of Church-Government, of which he may serve his Interest, and comply more easily than a Man of Integrity and Reflection with any prescribed Formularies or external Rites. But there is no necessary Connection between his doing this and embracing the substantial and weightier Matters of the Gospel. Nor can it be inferr'd from hence, that he has either Love to God, Loyalty to his King, or Affection to his Country. Experience and History abundantly testify, that a blind, implicit Veneration for Things of merely human Institution, is too frequently attended with a notorious Disregard to such as are commanded by divine Authority. And there are as many Instances of Men pious and peaceable, loyal and friendly, good Christians and good Members of Society, that never yet cou'd be convinced of the Necessity or Lawfulness of parting with the just Liberty of differing from fallible Expositions of Scripture and Ceremonies of mere human Appointment.

Surely these are not Things of equal Importance with the sacred, immutable Truths, and the indispensible Duties of the Gospel. And yet they are Things which High-Churchmen are far more inflexibly tenacious of and zealous for: As if the Stress of Religion was to be laid on such indifferent

Things, as any Man may practise without controuling his Passions, or discarding his Vices. But is it not then amazing to see such Men setting themselves up for Judges of the Faith and Consciences of others, without any Tenderness for their Scruples? It must be allow'd that they have so much Modesty as to leave their Neighbours to their own Management in the common Actions of Life, as they think best for their own Interest. But their Presumption and Insolence, if it must be express'd, would have a much better Face, were they rudely to interpose, as *Busy-Bodies in other Mens Matters*, any where else than in their Religion: Because, besides its being the grand Concern of all, it is in the Nature of it a voluntary and reasonable Thing. If this is the Nature of Religion, it is unreasonable and absurd for High-Churchmen to murmur at the Indulgence allow'd to *Protestants* of every different Perswasion. Nor will it be sufficient to plead in Defence of those Severities, which they discover so strong an Inclination towards the Revival of, that what they are so zealous for is the establish'd Religion of their Country. The *Mahometan* and *Christian* Religion, if this Plea was to be admitted, wou'd stand upon the same Foundation: And by this Method of Reasoning, both the Reformation and Christianity wou'd be condemned as unreasonable and unwarrantable; because carried on in Opposition to the Powers in Being, as well as the Religions which prevailed in those Nations and Kingdoms in which they have been introduced. I may add, this would justify treating any honest Man with Indignity and Cruelty, that wou'd not be a Papist in *France*, a Protestant in *England*, a Low-Churchman in *London*, and at *Edinburgb* a downright Presbyterian.

I have no Occasion, Sir, to say any more of that excellent Spirit which the Church of *England* shew'd,

in her Distress, towards her Protestant Brethren : Much less need I go so far back as to remind you, what an affectionate Regard the Fathers of our Reformation had for all the *Protestant Churches* abroad, who agreed with them in the same Protestant Principles ; and what a Christian Intercourse and Friendship they thought it their Interest, as well as Duty, to cultivate with them. For as the malevolent Spirit of *Highb-Churchmen* stands rebuked by the Laws of God and their Country, so the Honour of that Church which they so grossly misrepresent, stands *vindicated* by the Candour and Moderation, as well as Piety of many of her present Clergy, of the highest Characters and Stations in our National Establishment. For this an honourable Testimony has been given them, under the Hand of one of the most eminent Men our *English* Dissenters now have to boast of\*. I am glad, Sir, to find such a Testimony standing at the Entrance of *a calm and impartial Review* of a Matter, which has afresh been drawn into Controversy between Churchmen and Dissenters† : And I take the more Pleasure in producing it ; because, at the same Time that he is doing Justice to theirs, he manifests the Excellency of that Spirit in himself, which I wou'd wish to see cultivated amongst Protestants of all Denominations :

“ I had long since, says he, determined in my  
 “ own Mind, to engage no farther in any public  
 “ Debates, concerning *Party Affairs*, and the lesser  
 “ Differences subsisting between the *Established*  
 “ *Church*, and *Protestant Dissenters* from it. Years  
 “ and Experience have, I thank God, much softening  
 “ ed my own Mind, as to these Things ; and I  
 “ have long taken a sincere Pleasure in thinking

\* The Rev. Mr. *Samuel Chandler*.

† *Case of Subscription, &c.* p. 1, 2.

" well of, and being kindly affectioned to all, without Exception, who love the Truth in Christ, and seek after the Things that make for Peace. The known Learning, Candour, Moderation and Piety of many of the Clergy of the National Church, and particularly of those Reverend Prelates, who now so worthily fill her Sees, and who have several of them treated me with great Humanity and Respect, gave me the most agreeable Prospect, that Peace and Harmony were growing Blessings amongst us; and that if we cannot all agree in more difficult Speculations, or in the external Forms of Worship, yet that 'till God, in his good Providence, should bring about this also, we should all grow more united in Love, and put on that amiable Charity which is the Bond of Perfectness. This is that Spirit I have been long endeavouring to cultivate amongst all who attend my Ministry, as you and many others will bear me Witness. And I have done it the rather, because I have not been without my Fears, that all that is valuable, both in the Church and amongst the Dissenters, is in Danger, by that Infidelity which is spreading amongst all Ranks and Degrees; the numerous Converts to Popery that are made throughout the Nation; and, what makes Way for both these, the Luxury, Debauchery, and Impiety of the present Generation. These Considerations appeared to me to be of Weight enough to have kept all good Men from raising Controversies about any lesser Matters, and to have united Churchmen and Dissenters in the most serious Endeavour to maintain our common Principles, and to recover, as far as we can, the sinking Authority of Christian Piety and Virtue. In such Circumstances of common Danger, I would not wish to see a Protestant Divine stirring up the almost dead Coals of Contention

"*tion, about Gowns and Cloaks, Bows, Crosses, Godfathers, and the like, much less striving for them as pro aris & focis, and scarce allowing the Character of Christians, to any who are not as zealous for them as himself.* I apprehend there are Things of more Importance, that deserve the most serious Attention of all Clergymen, about which they might employ their Zeal more to their own Comfort, and the Edification of the Church of God."

Would to God, Sir, not many only, but that all who have the Church in their Mouths, would direct their Zeal this Way, and pay a just Attention to these weightier and more profitable Things! That *Churchmen* and *Dissenters* would more generally ponder these uniting Considerations, and join their heartiest Endeavours for the Preservation of all that is valuable to both! That as *Fellow-Christians* and *Fellow-Protestants*, they would live and love like Brethren. And instead of *Hatred* and *Variance*, Scurrility, Reproach, and ill Usage, they would emulate each other in that Meekness and Gentleness, and Benevolence of Temper, Speech, and Behaviour, by which they would mutually deserve and return the most generous Acknowledgments, reflect an Honour upon our *common Christianity and Protestantism*, and more effectually bring into Disgrace whatever is inconsistent with them.

That the Spirit of *High-Church* is such, I think, I have sufficiently shewn, from the Principles and the Practices peculiar to that Party. Principles and Practices subversive of the *Constitution*, as well as the *Church of England*; condemned by the *Laws* of the one, and the *Doctrines* of the other; at Enmity with the Religion and the Peace of our Country; and in Confederacy with those, who wish to involve us in universal Ruin. The Distinction between this *High-flying Party*, and the true Protestant Church

of *England*, is too evident to require any farther Elucidation. *Tories* and *Jacobites* separate themselves but too plainly from the National Establishment: And while they won't allow those to be *Church-Men*, who, we know, have the best Title to that Character, they cannot take it amiss, that their own Title is disputed; but they ought to think that they are favourably dealt with, when a Denomination is given them, which, in their own Sense of Things, is so much better than that of *Presbyterians*, with which they affect to stigmatize such as are wiser and better Men and Church-Men than themselves.

It appears to me, Sir, upon this View of Things, to be a necessary Piece of Self-Defence, and the only Method which the Establishment has to purge itself from the Scandal of such as reputedly conform to the Rules of it, to insist upon this, *viz.* That the *High-Church Jacobites* and *Tories*, who claim, in Bar of all others, to be true *Church-Men*, very falsely represent the Church of *England*. And that though they call her Mother, they are entirely destitute of all that filial Resemblance, by which her genuine Sons are distinguished. Instead of that Beauty of Complexion and Temper which is so conspicuous in her legitimate Offspring, that Piety towards God, that Loyalty to their King, that Regard to the true Interest of their Country, that Peaceableness with their Brethren, and all the Branches of their Mother's Family:—Instead, I say, of these, they bear very strong Features of another Woman of a very infamous Character.

You, Sir, I know, are too deeply afflicted with the Remembrance of your Inattention to the Drift of the Tories, and the Tendency of their Schemes, and your having so long suffered yourself to be impos'd upon by their specious Pretences, to need any Thing to be added to the Severity of your own Reflection. And I make no Question but you will think

think it your Duty to discountenance and disapprove such a Spirit in others, as you have, on Reflection, so justly blamed in yourself. Nor can I doubt having the full Concurrence of yours with me in these, which are the ardent Wishes of my Heart:—That the Governors of our Church, the Heads of our Universities, and all that have any Influence amongst the Laity, as well as Clergy, would set themselves, by every Christian Method, to oppose the farther Growth of this Root of Bitterness. That by Example, Instruction, Admonition, and Reproof, as they find Occasion, they wou'd be careful to cultivate, not only in themselves, but in the Minds of all about them, that Humility and Gentleness, that Benevolence and Charity, and that quiet and peaceable Disposition, in which the distinguishing Ornaments of a Christian and a Protestant Community consist. That they wou'd convince the ignorant Multitudes, that what Advantages soever any may think they have in Communion with any particular Church, *a bad Man can be saved in none.* That they wou'd therefore recommend, with all Earnestness, that excellent Constitution of Heart and Course of Life, which Christianity requires, and that which is *principal in Religion*, above any of the *Appendages* of it. That they would chide down every turbulent Passion, and seditious Tumult. And that they wou'd shew those that have not yet known it, *a more excellent Way* of saving the Church and the Nation, than by setting a Popish Pretender at their Head;—*a more excellent Way* of defending their Religion, than by bidding Defiance to the Laws of God and Man.—And *a more excellent Way* of engaging Dissenters to Conformity, than by that Scurrility and Abuse, which is the directest Way they can possibly take, to confirm their Prejudices, and affright them from it.

The Attempt, indeed, will be attended with some Difficulties ; but with none which they ought to think sufficient to be pleaded against the sacred Engagements of Duty, and all the Ties of Interest. They will be accompanied in it with the Approbation of Heaven. They may depend upon the Favour of a good Government. Their Consciences will witness, that the Cause in which they engage is good. And whatever frightful Sounds may be expected to be play'd off by *bad* Men against them, all the *wise* and *good* will lend them their Assistance, and unite their Prayers for its Success.

I am. Sir, &c.

Sept. 24th, 1748.



F I N I S.



### E R R A T A.

Page 4. Line 23. read, a Ship's Company. p. 9. l. 3. for *eate-*  
*sus*, read *eatenus*, and l. 4. for *dictum*. *Sit*, read *dictum sit*.

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